

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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PENSIONS, by return published by order of the House of Commons, in June, 1808 :—  
“WILLIAM HUSKISSON, began May 27, 1801, “1,200*l.* a year; to be suspended when he “shall be in possession of any office, &c., of “the annual value of 2,000*l.* a year, or upwards. ELIZA EMILY HUSKISSON, wife of “William Huskisson, Esq., to commence from “the day of the decease of her said husband, “615*l.* a year.”

## TO MR. HUSKISSON.

Wolverhampton, May 1, 1830.

SIR,

I HAVE lying before me a pamphlet, published by the grizzly-headed old Scotchman, Murray, of Albemarle-street (who, in his stupid and base work, called the *Quarterly Review*, calls me, “the hoary democrat of Kensington”), entitled, the “Speech of the “Right Hon. Wm. Huskisson, in the “House of Commons, on Thursday, the “18th of March, 1830.” This speech is said, in the title-page, to have been made in a debate on a motion (made by my old correspondent, DAVENPORT), for referring to a committee of the whole House the divers petitions relative to the distress of the country, which motion you opposed.

Now, it can hardly be necessary to say, that the speech, as thus published, ought to be deemed *your own production*, a thing *written by yourself*, and published with your authority. As such I shall take it to be, and as such I shall comment upon it. You and I saw this taxing and paper-money system start in its present form; you have, from its beginning in 1793, had a *hand in carrying it on*; and I, ever since the year 1803, when I began to understand it, have been predicting the ruinous result:

you are now endeavouring to wriggle out of your share of the responsibility belonging to all who have partaken in the carrying of the system on; and a part of my labours is now devoted to the preventing of you, and all the other of your fellow-labourers, from making a successful wriggle for that purpose. No, no; you shall not get out of the scrape: you have been one of the makers and supporters of the system; you have constantly been profiting from it; you have never failed to support the measures intended to crush all opposition to it; and you shall not now back out of the affair, just when the hour of responsibility is, to all appearance, approaching.

In cases of this kind, I have generally, as in that of the silly pamphlet of your brother PARNELL, taken the pamphlet, and stated, to begin with, its substance under *distinct heads*. I have sometimes, from the total want of order and of clear meaning in the work itself, found this very difficult to do; but never did I find this difficulty so great as in the present instance. When I, after having read a speech or a pamphlet, am asked, “*What does the author say?*” I can, if he have spoken with clearness, answer by stating, in short and distinct propositions, *what he has said*. I defy any man to do this with regard to your speech, which, owing to your want of clearness of head, or to a confusion of mind, arising from the difficulty of your situation with regard to the subject, or to a desire to disguise facts and render your matter untangible, is the most heterogeneous jumble that my eyes ever beheld. The truth is, you see that the system must give way, in one part or another; you anticipate *some great burst*; you wish to be *prepared for it*; you have, in early life, *seen a grand revolution begin*; you were upon the spot, and amidst the actors; you know how desirable it is, in such a time, not to be reckoned one of those who have oppressed the starving and angry millions; you must see (for you are not a

fool), that all, or nearly all, the causes which were at work in France in 1787, are at work here now; and your pamphlet shows us that *you wish to shift all blame from yourself*, and to be ranked amongst those who call for a *lightening of the burdens of the common people*. And here you find your difficulty. You strive to make this, your *new* character, consistent with that in which you have so long acted; hence, those qualifications without end; hence, those absurdities and self-contradictions that we meet with in every page; hence, this political comedy of "*he would and he would not*," that is so difficult to comprehend, and, of course, so difficult to analyse.

However, leaving out, as I shall, for the present, your defence of your *free-trade* measures, your pamphlet says this: 1. That the *distress* arises, in part, from the return to cash-payments; but that that return was *just and necessary*, and that it ought to be rigidly adhered to: 2. That the distress arises, in part, from other causes, over which the Government has had *no control*: 3. That the *great evil* is, that the taxes take from *employers* and *working people* too much of their capital and their earnings: 4. That the taxes cannot be reduced, but in a very trifling degree: 5. That the remedy is, to take off the excise and custom duties, which press upon the industrious classes, and to put, in their stead, taxes upon the *incomes* of those who are *not* engaged in *productive pursuits*: 6. That this will afford effectual relief, and that it is the only way of preventing the impoverishment and decrepitude of the country: 7. That, however, after all, the *present generation must continue to suffer*!

I shall, as well as I can, collect, under each of these several heads, the parts of your pamphlet that relate to that head. I say, as well as I can; for the different topics are so jumbled together, that this work of picking out and assorting is very difficult of execution. However, there is no knowing what one can do, till one *tries*.

1. *That the distress arises, in part, from the return to cash-payments; but*

*that that return was just and necessary, and that it ought to be rigidly adhered to.*

The passages of your pamphlet, relating to this matter, are as follow:—  
 "From the period of the Bullion Committee, of which I was a member, in 1810, I have so often had occasion to state my opinions on this, *the great*, though *not the only* source, of the difficulties of the country, that I willingly leave to others the task of following the honourable gentlemen upon this exhausted subject. I will only state, that in 1819, when the bill, now called Mr. Peel's Act, was brought in, I was unavoidably kept away from the house by illness; otherwise I should have given to *that measure my active and cordial support*. I own that I consider it a necessary preliminary to the efficacy of every suggestion of relief, that we should, if possible, pronounce ourselves so decidedly on *the permanence of our present monetary system*, as finally to set at rest all hopes and fears on this too long agitated question. There is one branch, indeed, of this subject which does not, I admit, involve any necessary alteration in the standard of our currency: I mean, the circulation of one-pound notes, convertible into coin upon demand. Their suppression rests upon distinct grounds. *It is manifest that notes, of the same denomination with our principal gold coin, cannot be allowed*, without the effect being to *drive the latter out of circulation*. It is important to bear in mind, that the general amount and *real pressure of taxation* have been *positively increased in the proportion of the improved value of our currency*. Should you, *in an evil hour*, venture to *debase your currency*, you will commit an *act of fraud*, at which the finger of scorn will point for ever after, as the hour of your shame and humiliation; and the period will not then be distant, in which you will deeply repent, but repent too late, the *irretrievable consequences of so ruinous a proceeding*."

Now, then, let us see how your con-

duct at different times squares with these opinions, and how even these opinions square with each other. You allow that the change in the currency is "*the great*" source of difficulty to the country; and yet, in 1811, *you wanted to return* to cash-payments, in the midst of war and of enormous loans and contracts and subsidies! You wanted to adopt a measure, which, according to your own doctrine, would have doubled "*the real distress*" even of the war-taxes! And your opinion, on this subject, is, even after this, to be deemed worth something, is it? And you are a statesman, are you?

Well; but you *approved of Peel's Bill*; and had you been present, would have given it your "*active and cordial support*." What, then, you, who now say that the weight of the taxes is too great, and that it is producing ruin in the country, *approved*, did you, of a measure, which "*positively increased the amount and real pressure of the taxes*"! You would, if you had been well, have given your active and cordial support to a measure that you now say has augmented the amount and the pressure of those taxes, which you say are working the ruin of the country! You cannot shuffle out of this: and you are a man, are you, to be pensioned all your life, and to have your wife pensioned after you be dead!

"It is manifest," is it? "that one-pound notes cannot be allowed without the effect being to drive the gold out of circulation." This is "*manifest*" is it? It was always manifest to me, indeed; but, when, I pray you, statesman, did it become manifest TO YOU? Come, now, muster up your cool brass, and prepare for the scorn of the public. You *approved of Peel's Bill*; that bill allowed one-pound notes to pass after the time for the Bank to begin paying in gold; that bill allowed of the circulation of one-pound notes, and compelled the banks to pay in gold on demand at the same time; and as it was "*manifest*" that this would drive the gold out of circulation, how came you to approve of that bill, and to be sorry that illness prevented you from giving

that bill your active and cordial support? What! have you the impudence to tell us, that it is manifest that one-pound notes and gold cannot circulate together, and to *boast*, at the same time, that you *approved of a bill*, according to which *they were intended to circulate together*? No: you have not the impudence: it is the ignorance; the confusion of ideas, the bubbleheadedness, which has been the grand source of all these measures, and which we shall find conspicuous throughout the whole of your pamphlet.

Again, "*it is manifest*," is it? It is perfectly evident, that "if one-pound notes be allowed, they will drive out the gold": this is *quite certain*, is it? Well, then, pensioned political economist, how came you to vote for the bill of July 1822, which allowed one-pound notes (town and country) to be put forth until 1833, while, at the same time, *all banks were left liable to demands of payment in gold*? And how came you, even when the duration of this period was shortened in 1826, to vote for and talk for a bill, which, even after the panic, kept out the one-pound notes for *three years* from that time, still leaving the banks liable to demands of payment in gold? What shuffle have you here, now? What hole to attempt to creep out at? Will you, like a mole, try to scratch a hole, and get under ground; or will you, clapping your hand upon the lumpy pension on your thigh, and pointing to the standing army, give us a brazen stare and a laugh?

It will be "*an evil hour*," will it, if the currency be debased; it will be "*an act of fraud*, at which the finger of scorn will point for ever after." What have you to say, then, in defence of "*those great and firm minds*" (Pitt's and Dundas's), who gave you and your wife your pensions, but who debased the currency most famously in 1797, while you were in public pay? What have you to say in defence of them who began the game of debasement, in spite of all the warnings that had been given them? And, as for the "*act of fraud*," the act of fraud is compelling the nation to pay you and your wife and other pensioners in money of *double*



the value of that which existed when the pensions were granted. This is "the act of fraud," at which something a little more efficient than "the finger of scorn" ought to be pointed. The "act of fraud" is, the changing of the value of money, and thereby, according to your own confession, adding to the "amount and the real pressure of the taxes." The "act of fraud" is, compelling the tax-payers to give to the tax-eaters double the sum that the latter ought to receive. The "act of fraud" is, leaving the nominal amount of pensions, pay, and Jew's-interest, unaltered, while the money, in which these are paid, has been doubled in value. This, pensioner Huskisson! is the real act of fraud; for tamely submitting to which the world is "pointing the finger of scorn" at this pensioner-ridden nation. I do not say, nor do I think, that the currency can be again debased without a blowing up of the concern; but *the taxes may be reduced*; and this, after all your talk, you do not propose. We shall, however, tell you *another story* about this *before this day twelvemonths*.

2. *That the distress arises, in part, from other causes, over which the Government has had no control.*

This is false. For, what are those causes, as stated by you? *Adverse seasons!* When did those ever before plunge England into distress? Besides, the distress was, in 1822, ascribed, by yourselves, to the *too-good seasons*. Next, the competition against us in the *foreign market*. If we suffer here, it is owing to the Corn-laws; and those are made by the parliament. The *contracts between landlord and tenant* have been violated; and have not the acts of the Government caused the violation? The *increase of machinery* would have been a benefit, had it not been for the Corn-bill and the enormous taxes, both of which we owe to the Government. So that this proposition is false; but, if true, we should do well to have a *much cheaper Government*; for any set of day-labourers could do *no worse* than plunge us into the misery that we now have to endure.

3. *That the GREAT EVIL is, that the taxes take from EMPLOYERS and WORKING PEOPLE too much for their capital and earnings.*

Upon this subject you use a sort of language which you picked up, I suppose, at Paris, in your early days, and which the French call a *recherche fine*; that is to say, a set of expressions not to be easily comprehended by the vulgar. The passage in which you open this important matter, is in the following curious words:

"If I am asked the cause of the habitual existence of this too-great pressure, I can only state the impression of my own mind. It is simply this, that, in the distribution of the annual income of the country, by which I mean everything, having value in exchange, that is raised and produced by the labour of its inhabitants, and from which fund are derived the subsistence, the comforts, and the enjoyments of all, from the monarch to the peasant; I say that, in its distribution, the portion of it reserved for reproduction is now, and has been for some years, less than it ought to be, either for the well-being of the labouring classes, the immediate instrument of that re-production, or for the due maintenance and progressive growth of the capitals by which their labour is called into active exertion. I am aware that, in this statement, I have only said in other words, *that the wages of labour have been too low, and the profits of fructifying or productive capital less than they ought to be*: but there is an advantage, in a discussion like the present, in describing these evils, so as to trace them to their elementary causes."

In plain words, this means that which I have expressed; namely, that the taxes take from the employers and the working people too much of their capital and earnings; and this is very true; only, after my having said this every week for five-and-twenty years, while you, who were helping to lay on the taxes, and to devour them when collected, one wonders how the devil you could have found the brass to put upon paper

a *complaint* on the subject You do, indeed, tell us, as a sort of prelude to this complaint, that, "*it is well known to several of my right honourable friends, that this my opinion is of much longer standing than the present emergency.*" A fig for the knowledge of your right honourable friends! What is it to us what you told them? You never told *the public* this before. From the time that you came from Paris with Lord and Lady STAFFORD, and were made a clerk in the Alien Office; from that day to this, you have been living on the taxes; and for the last thirty-five years of your life, you have voted for every tax that has been imposed. Monstrous brass it required, therefore, to pretend that you have been *remonstrating with your colleagues* against the burdens which they were imposing on the people. For nine-and-twenty years, up to this very day, you have been receiving 1,200*l.* a year in pension, or 2,000*l.* a year, or upwards, in some other shape. For the greater part of the time you have been receiving five or six thousand pounds a year. In the whole, I believe you have received far above a hundred and fifty thousand pounds of the public money, in one way or another. I think you have now a pension of two thousand pounds, or more; and *at the end of thirty-seven years* of this swallowing of taxes, you have discovered that the *taxes press too heavily* upon the industrious classes: and this you do without giving us the smallest intimation, that *you mean to let go your grasp* even now, when you tell us that the country is threatened with a breaking up, unless the burden be lightened.

Your description of the state of the country is by no means bad; at any rate it is not for me to pronounce it bad, seeing that it is a description which you appear carefully to have collected from divers articles in the Register; and this every one of my readers will testify as soon as he has gone through the passage which I here insert.

"Let any man compare the metropolis now with what it was at that period; not only its positive growth,

"but still more the extension of splendour in buildings, in furniture, in plate, in the habits of luxury, and in display of every description. Having mentioned plate, Sir, I may remark, as a striking evidence of this change, the difference of the amount of the duty upon that one article, between the year 1804 and the last year. The rate of duty upon silver wrought plate in 1804 was 1*s.* 3*d.*, upon gold 16*s.* per ounce; it was afterwards raised to 1*s.* 6*d.* upon silver, and to 17*s.* upon gold. But what has been the increase in the net produce of the duty? It has risen from less than 5,000*l.* in 1804, to upwards of 105,000*l.* in 1828; a rise of more than twenty-fold, notwithstanding the greatly-diminished supply from the mines, and the consequent increasing value of the precious metals. It may be further remarked, that this augmented consumption shows how large a portion of gold and silver is annually diverted from the purposes of coin to those of ornament and luxury.

"Have the articles most necessary to the scanty comfort of the *humble dwellings of the labouring classes* been multiplied in the same proportion? I am afraid that, *in too many cases, an inverse ratio would rather be the correct answer.* Look at the earnings and condition of that population which raises the produce of the soil, or from early dawn till midnight throws the shuttle, for bare subsistence, and compare them with those of the artisans, who minister to all the various enjoyments and gratifications of wealth, in this great town. Contrast the hourly dealings for millions at that great mart of money, the Stock Exchange, with the stunted transactions and falling-off of our country markets. In London, the bankers, the monied men of all descriptions, complain of the glut of money. We hear of seven or eight millions deposited, for want of employment, in the Bank of England alone. Ingenuity is incessantly at work in devising new and tempting speculations, to call forth these locked-up capitals, of which too large a por-

"tion has already been thrown away upon rash and gambling speculations, or placed at hazard upon the precarious security of foreign loans. In the country, you hear of nothing but the bewailings of industry, and the want of money, confidence, and credit. The country banker, reluctant to make advances, and the prudent man, who is still solvent, cautious and tardy in applying for them, because productive speculation, however carefully conducted, holds out too little prospect of gain to compensate for the risk of loss, with which, more or less, it must always be attended. It is notorious to all, who know what is passing in the different counties of the kingdom, that country banks, in better times those salutary reservoirs for the alternate deposit and distribution of circulating wealth, through all the ramifications of active industry, *now send that wealth up to town*, to be lent for short periods upon stock, and other floating securities upon the Stock Exchange. This system is, perhaps, safe for themselves, but, at best, of very doubtful benefit to the public; affording, for aught I know, to a few individuals increased facilities for gigantic speculations; swelling still further the already overgrown fortunes of some, *but bringing misery and ruin upon others*; and diverting the thoughts and aspirations of all who come within its vortex, *from the sober and steady courses of their forefathers*, to pursuits as little conducive, I believe, to individual happiness and moral worth, as they certainly are to the growth of wealth in the country; pursuits which, were they multiplied even a hundred-fold, *could never add the value of one pepper-corn to our national resources*, whilst all the classes, from whom alone wealth can really flow, are labouring under difficulties, and complaining of distress."

Nothing can be more true than this. It is precisely what I have been describing and complaining of for five-and-twenty years. If you had put in the word *Wen* instead of "*metropolis*," and the word *tar-eaters* instead of

"*higher orders*," and the word *Jews* instead of "*monied men*," every reader would have sworn that it was an extract from some old Register, written, perhaps, twenty years ago; or, at any rate, written since the passing of PEEL'S Bill in the year 1819. It is all *true* to the very letter; but none of it *new*. As the poet says,

"The words are neither rich nor rare;  
The wonder is, how they came there."

Before I proceed to remark further upon this passage, I must take another still more manifestly stolen from the Register. "*Full three-fourths of your revenue are levied under these two heads (excise and customs), and by far the greatest proportion of that amount upon articles necessary, either for the subsistence, the clothing, or the humble comforts of the labourer; or of use in the fabrication of those articles to which his industry is devoted. Let any man look through the list of the excise and customs, even now that the beer and leather taxes are removed, and he will find in how great a degree this observation still applies. Candles, hops, licenses, malt, printed goods, soap, British spirits, tea, sugar, tobacco, rum, hemp, timber: here is an enumeration amounting to near 30,000,000*l.*; but the incidental burden of which, in restraint, impediment, and vexatious interference, may well be estimated at 10,000,000*l.* more. These are the consequences of monopoly in some cases, as tea for instance, and of the charge of collection, regulation, drawbacks, and such like interference in others.*"

This is almost *Norfolk Petition*; and the readers of the Register will all recollect how many scores of times I have insisted on it that the working people paid the greater part of the taxes. It is hardly half a year since I fully explained how the *monopoly added to the taxes*, particularly in the cases of malt, hops, soap, and candles. You are, Mr. Pensioner, the most barefaced plagiarist that I ever met with, except Lord Grenville, and Mr. Western, and my friend





Davenport. But you are contending here for precisely the contrary of that for which you have contended for so many years, which was, that those whose income consisted of wages, *really paid no taxes at all*. This was contended for by you, by your old crony CANNING, by LIVERPOOL and by CASTLEREAGH, in the month of December, 1819. A million or more of the people had been demanding their right to be represented, upon the ground *that taxation and representation ought to go hand in hand*; and your impudent, your audacious answer, was, that the people in the lower walks of life *really paid no taxes*; which, by-the-by, was a doctrine of generous BURDETT too. I told you, at that time, that your eyes would get open, when once the taxes that you received were taken away from you. The taking away of your *salary* has half opened your eyes. You can see already, that the working people pay the larger part of the taxes; and, when your *pension*, or *pensions*, shall be taken away, which will, I trust, be the case before it be long, your sight will be as clear as that of a puppy ten days old.

So much for the *extent* of taxation, and for the *shoulders* on which the burden falls. Let us now hear you upon the next topic.

4. *That the taxes cannot be reduced but in a very trifling degree.*

As in most other parts of the pamphlet, you here pretty decently contradict yourself. The sort of savings which you first talk of are very numerous and extensive; but by-and-by you find, that there can be no savings made! Let us, however, hear you as to these savings. "There is a tendency to the *growth of expenditure*, which requires "to be steadily watched, and kept within "bounds. Of late years it appears to "have been most *vivacious*, if I may "use the expression, in that branch "which is familiarly called the dead "weight. After all the details and explanations upon this subject, which "I have heard with satisfaction from "the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I "remain of opinion, that the proposed "regulations ought, in some instances,

"to be drawn somewhat tighter, and  
"that retrenchment may be carried  
"considerably further. The Govern-  
"ment has once gone over the wide  
"field of expenditure, but what they  
"have cut down is not adequate to the  
"wants and expectations of the country.  
"Let them repeat the operation, and  
"they will find that more than glean-  
"ings are left behind. In the collection  
"and management of the revenue, it  
"was admitted by the Chancellor of  
"the Exchequer, there is still room for  
"reduction and reform. The diploma-  
"tic and consular establishment may  
"be pared down without detriment to  
"the public service. The door of ad-  
"mission to half-pay, retired allow-  
"ances, and superannuations of every  
"sort, must be further straitened and  
"narrowed. A careful revision of the  
"colonial establishments will afford a  
"considerable saving. The expenses  
"incurred on the coast of Africa ought,  
"on every consideration, to be greatly  
"diminished. The laxity of control  
"over the appropriation of the revenue  
"arising from crown lands, calls for  
"revision. This branch of the revenue,  
"as much as the customs or excise,  
"constitutes a part of the consolidated  
"fund, subject to the expenses of  
"management. Under this head of  
"management it may be proper to in-  
"clude the expense of the maintaining,  
"repairing, and keeping up that part of  
"the crown estate which is expressly  
"reserved for the recreation or state of  
"the monarch, such as parks, lodges,  
"&c.; but as in the civil list, so in  
"this instance, a specific annual sum  
"ought to be allotted for that purpose;  
"not to be exceeded without an appli-  
"cation to, and an express vote of, the  
"House of Commons. There are also  
"the savings which may, I hope, be  
"effected in the great heads of our ex-  
"pense, the military and naval esta-  
"blishments of the country. I have  
"made no objections to the estimates  
"for the army and navy this year. In  
"fixing the numbers, the Government,  
"acting upon their information and  
"responsibility, have a right to expect  
"some degree of confidence from the

"House; especially if, from circumstances of notoriety, it should appear that, in the pending concerns of the world, some matters remain to be adjusted, and that every thing is not in its right place. If, by the next year, the mists which surround us shall be dissipated, if the political horizon shall be, on every side, clear and bright, if Ireland shall continue, as I am confident it will, to improve in its internal tranquillity, and in good feelings towards this country, I should, in the ensuing session, expect no inconsiderable reduction in the amount of our public force."

It is impossible to read this, without, in the first place, laughing at your "*vivacious dead weight*"; and my readers will recollect that when the name was first given to it by that impudent and stupid fellow, CASTLEREAGH, who cut his own throat at North Cray, in Kent, I said that it was any thing but a *dead weight*; that it was, on the contrary, a most *lively* affair; for that it was producing, every day, *lots of young gentlemen and ladies for us to keep*. However, as coming from your pen, this enumeration of sources of saving does appear very much like the uproarious complaint of the butcher, the fat and unwieldy butcher (spoken of by Swift) who made part of a mob assembled round the stage of a mountebank. "Foh!" exclaimed the fat and greasy fellow, "what devil has raked this filthy crowd together? Was there ever such a thrusting and squeezing before! Why, are the people *mad*? Do take your elbow away from my side, friend, and give me a little room." "Why, you big-paunched rascal," exclaimed a skinny tailor, "*who adds so much to the crowd as yourself!*" "Take away your own ton of guts, and be d—d to you, and there will be room for half a dozen of the rest of us." And, my good Mr. Pensioner, if you will but take your and your wife's name out of the pension list, there will be room enough for a score of dead-weight fellows and their wives.

However, who would imagine that, after all this enumeration of savings, you

come to the conclusion that *nothing at all can be saved*; for this is the conclusion to which you come, in these very words. "When the whole of the charge, over which we can exercise any immediate control, is not more than eleven millions, the further reduction which remains practicable, to be consistent with the public safety, and the efficiency of the Government, cannot be very considerable. Indeed, I much doubt whether, if we are to retain a reasonable surplus of revenue, *any further absolute reduction of taxation can be anticipated*." You had frightened yourself with the enumeration of savings. You began to think of *your own pensions*; amongst such a lopping-off you began to be afraid that they would not escape; therefore you got back with all possible haste to the assertion, that *no savings could be made*; or, at most, only to a very trifling extent. Yes, yes, Mr. Pensioner HUSKISSON, you will be taught, before long, that pretty large savings can be made; that we have control over a great deal more than eleven millions; that we have control over the whole sixty millions, if you please; and I do believe that you will not have one farthing out of that sixty millions, in a very few years from this time. A reformed Parliament would not allow you more than eighteen-pence a day, to say nothing about that *refund-ing system* which you may probably live to see established.

5. *That the remedy is, to take off the excise and custom duties, which press upon the industrious classes, and to put in their stead taxes upon the incomes of those who are not engaged in productive pursuits.*
6. *That this will afford effectual relief, and that it is the only way of preventing the impoverishment and decrepitude of the country.*

These are very important propositions, if one could believe that they would be adopted. I shall, therefore, insert the passage, containing the *reasons*, upon which you found these propositions; and I beg the patient attention of my readers, not only to what I shall have to say upon the subject, but to what



you have said; because, in the kickings and flings of the old THING, in its agony, it seems to me possible, that it may resort to this foolish scheme of yours. The THING is just in the same state that the French THING was, in years 1786 and 1787, and yours is a scheme just like those that the schemers in France brought forward, in order to rescue that old THING from the perils, with which it was surrounded. Another reason for my giving your statement at length is this; that you have all the shallow brains in the country with you, except those amongst the annuitants, particularly the Jews; and if they have any sense, they will approve of your scheme more decidedly than any body else. The passage to which I allude, and with which you introduce your scheme, is as follows:

"The more general considerations, to which I now claim the attention of the House, are these: first, that no other country in Europe has so large a proportion of its taxation bearing directly upon the incomes of labour and productive capital: secondly, that in no other country, of the same extent, I think I might say in none of five times the extent of this kingdom, is there so large a mass of income, belonging to those classes who do not directly employ it in bringing forth the produce of labour: thirdly, that no other country has so large a proportion of its taxation mortgaged; in proportion to the amount of that mortgage are we interested in any measure which, *without injustice to the mortgagee, would tend to lessen the absolute burden of the mortgage*: fourthly, that from no other country in the world does so large a proportion of the class not engaged in production (including many of the wealthy) *spend their incomes in foreign parts*. I know I may be told, that, by taxing that income, you run the risk of *driving them to withdraw their capital altogether*. My answer is, first, that ninety-nine out of a hundred of these absentees *have no such command over the source of their income*; secondly, that the danger is now

"of another and more alarming description, that of the *productive capitals of this country being transferred to other countries*, where they would be secure of a more profitable return. *The relief of industry is the remedy against that danger*. One of the objections made to any *direct tax upon income, even limited, as I have described, to capital not directly employed in the pursuits of industry*, is, that it may be very fit as a war measure, but that it is not suited to a state of peace. My answer is, that this proposition is too general: what may be very well adapted to a state of peace or war under given circumstances, may become inexpedient when the bearing of those circumstances is altogether changed. In war, the wages of labour and the profits of capital may be high. In peace, they may be greatly depressed. On the former supposition, taxes bearing upon industry will be more lightly felt; in the latter, their pressure will be very severe; and, if not alleviated, will daily become more so, by exhausting the very springs of that industry from which they are derived. Let gentlemen seriously weigh in their own minds, whether this be not the risk against which it is most urgent to provide. I have already shown, upon higher authority than my own (that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer), that the amount remitted by a change in our taxation, would be a very inadequate measure of the real saving, and contingent relief, to industry; whilst, on the other hand, the *produce of the tax to be substituted* would be commensurate with what it might subtract from the incomes of the classes, by which it would be paid. The *landlord, the fundholder, the mortgagee, the annuitant* of every description, would moreover be directly benefited, to the extent of his consumption of the articles upon which the present taxes might be reduced or abolished. Each would be indirectly benefited, by the stimulus and additional ease which would be given to the industrious

"classés. Take, for instance, the land-owner. Can any man doubt, that, in proportion to the relief afforded, would be the means and desire of the industrious classes to consume more of all the productions of the soil, which constitute their habitual comforts and luxuries: more meat, more malt, more cheese, more butter, and more of all the other articles which cannot be said to be of absolute and primary necessity? Can any man doubt, that the consumption of these articles is now checked, if not actually diminished, by the straitened circumstances of our labouring population? Should their condition become still harder; and, in order to maintain our competition in the foreign market, I fear that, *without the relief which I have suggested, it must*, is it not obvious that the consumption of these articles, and, with the consumption, the price, must decline? Should this be the unfortunate career in which we are proceeding, we may have gleams of sunshine, but their transient brightness will not be sufficient to disperse the thickening gloom which will be gathering round us, and in which all interests and all classes will be finally enveloped. For the contentment of the poor man, for the comfort of the middling classes, for the enjoyment of the rich, for the security of all, it becomes the paramount duty of those, to whom the welfare and happiness of the country are committed, well to probe the sources of our present difficulties; and if they are satisfied that they are produced, in any considerable degree, by the causes to which I have adverted, not to be tardy or timid in applying the remedy."

Such are the reasons that serve as the foundation of your scheme. You say, by way of preliminary, "If we cannot be protected from ruin by any *practical diminution in the positive amount of our burdens*, we may guard ourselves against that ruin by some *change in the principle and distribution of taxation*." So that you think, that by taking the taxes off from the

articles consumed by the industrious classes, by taking these taxes from the malt, hops, sugar, candles, soap, and the like, and laying them upon the fundholders, the landholders, the mortgagees, and annuitants of all descriptions, the labouring classes, including the employers, would have *more of wages and of profits left in their own hands*, wherewith to purchase a greater quantity than they now do of the necessities and conveniences of life, and that thus they would be rendered more happy, and, of course, more contented.

To be sure, this is shallowness perfectly monstrous: it is worthy of a creature incapable of putting two ideas together, and making a comparison between them. It is proceeding upon the supposition that there is to be no war; it is proceeding upon the supposition, that nobody feels any tax, that nobody is injured by any tax which does not go immediately out of his *own hand into that of the tax-gatherer*. It is proceeding upon the supposition, that, if a hundred per cent. were laid on the clear income of the paper-maker, the bookseller would have the paper just at the same price that he had it before; and that the readers of books would have them just as cheap as they had them before. It is proceeding upon the supposition, that the landlord would not make the tenant pay the income-tax; that, if he did, the farmer would not charge the additional rent in the price of his corn; that if he did, the miller would not charge the additional price of the wheat in the sale of the flour; and that, if all these were to take care of themselves, the baker would not charge, in the price of his loaf, the additional price that he had paid for the flour; and that thus the income tax would be paid by the landlord, and the poor man would get his loaf just as cheap as he got it before. Talk of *March hares*, indeed! Never was March hare half so mad as this.

This very proposition of yours shows what a state the whole concern is in: shows that there is no sense any where amongst you: shows, that you are like BRIENNE, and NECKER, and CALLONNE,

and God knows how many more of them; every one with his scheme; every one with his shuffle; with his *caisse d'escompte*, and *caisse d'amortissement*; ever day bringing forth one devil's scheme or another; but no one ever proposing to sweep away the myriads of blood-suckers that hang upon the taxes; no one ever proposing to put an end to the squanderings of the court, to the enormous expenses of the army; no one ever proposing to *take off the taxes and to put no other taxes on in their stead.*

Suppose you had an income tax. As far as it took from the *fundholders*, and from others whose incomes *came out of the taxes*, it would be a *reduction of taxation*; it would be a *partial sponge applied to the Debt*; and if that is what you really mean, there is *sense* in your proposition: it is a reduction of the interest of the Debt, and a reduction of half-pay and of other charges on the taxes. But, why not *call it so*? and why not make the reduction; and why have the miserable folly to couple this proposition with such vehement declarations against all "*breach of national faith*"? That this is what you aim at is clear enough. Now, to take, or, rather, to *withhold*, any part of the interest of the Debt, under *any pretence whatsoever*, is a breach of every Act of Parliament that ever was made for the raising of a loan; but, if *all property*; if *all income*, be assessed in the same proportion that the interest of the Debt is, there does not appear to be any *injustice* in the thing, however contrary to positive law. But unless the assessment be *general*; unless it reach *every species* of income, though I should be very glad to see it done, let me hear no more, I pray you, of railing against the Norfolk Petition; and let the sensible DADDY COKE and his sensible neighbour SUFFIELD recall the protesting edicts which they issued from their barns and holes and corners, in the year 1823.

However, what income tax would you get to supply the place of the *thirty millions*, now collected by the excise and the customs? An income tax of ten per cent. would not bring you from the

funds more than three millions. An income tax on the land would not bring you more than another three millions at this time, including the rent-charges, mortgages, and annuities, on land. Would you stop here; or, would you go to the *professions*? Would you make the doctor and lawyer bring their books before your commissioners, and would you put their incomes on a par with those of real estates, as you did before; or, would you look upon theirs as *productive capital*? Would you assess the parson upon his tithes, and make him pay as much on his lifehold as the lord paid on his freehold? You are most cursedly puzzled! Oh, no! You must have a sweep at *the whole*; you must bring every farmer and every shopkeeper to book; or very little will you get. Lay thirty per cent. upon the funds, as Sir James Graham proposed, and take ten millions from the malt, the sugar, the candles, and the like; and that will have *sense* in it: it will be a flagrant breach of faith: it will make you laughed at by some: it will bring you into total discredit: it will upset the whole system; but it will have *sense* in it, and it will give great relief to the industrious classes.

You seem to have a curious idea about incomes spent in *foreign parts*. You say, that by taxing the incomes you shall not drive people to withdraw their capital from the country; for that ninety-nine out of a hundred of these absentees *have no such command over the source of their income*. To be sure, when once a law has been passed, imposing an income-tax, the fundholder, the pensioner, and all those who derive their income from the taxes, must pay the income tax; and the fundholder, if he sell his stock, must sell it *loaded* with the income tax. But it is not thus with the *mortgagee*, or other lender of money. It is thus with the landowner; for, if he sell his land, he sells it *loaded* with the income tax. The moment you lay the income tax on him to the amount of ten per cent., you *take away a tenth part of his estate*: if worth 10,000*l.* before, it becomes at once worth only 9,000*l.* But, mark me, it is not thus



with 10,000*l.* lent on mortgage. As long as it remains on mortgage, it must pay ten per cent. income tax; but the mortgagee may take it away when he pleases; and if he cannot get the income-tax paid by a borrower, he can remove the capital to some country where there is no income tax; and, to be sure, this is what would be done to a prodigious extent. And, what do you mean by *realised* capital? A large part of the farming and trading of the country, and of the manufacturing also, is carried on by the capital of persons who are not farmers or traders or manufacturerers themselves. And how could you *distinguish* in these cases? And yet if you did not distinguish, you would tax the capital *employed in production*. You are puzzled! You are *posed*!

In short, here is a jumble of ideas; a miserable shuffling and twisting about, which clearly indicates that there is no *plain*, no *clear principle*, no *knowledge* amongst you, calculated to rescue the nation from its difficulties; and that, in all human probability, England is destined to behold acted over again, on this side the channel, the miserable tricks and contrivances of BRIENNE, NECKER, and CALLONNE.

But, after all your fine scheming; after all your confident hopes of the nation's riding out the storm; after all your disbelief that "a country like *England* can be reduced at once to a "state of helpless weakness"; after all your "*just reliance* upon the sources "of our wealth and power; your reliance on the *energy of our national character*, and the industry of an ingenious and enterprising population"; after your "well-founded confidence" and sanguine hope in an "*enlightened public opinion* exercising its salutary influence upon the councils of ministers, and upon the deliberations of "Parliament"; after all this inflated and disgusting *palaver*; at the tail of all this most abominable nonsense; after forty-four octavo pages of *scheming for putting things to rights*, you come out with the following concluding and most *consoling* declaration, which ought to be written in letters of gold: "*Do what*

*we will, say what we may*, the immense sacrifices and *unparalleled exertions* of the last long war must "*TELL*, in *abridging the comforts*, and "*adding to the difficulties*, of the present generation."

"Tell"! Tell what? Why, that you must have tenfold brass to have the impudence to say, as you now do, that that war was brought to a "*glorious termination*." Folly or impudence unparalleled you must have to call that termination *glorious*, which had been obtained by means which were to abridge the comforts and add to the difficulties of a *whole generation*! And do you, while you affect to place reliance on an "*enlightened public opinion*," really think the people of England such beasts as to *live out this whole generation* in the state of degradation and misery in which they now are? And have you the impudence to think, that they have forgotten all the promises of "*indemnity for the past and security for the future*"? and have you the stupidity to believe that they do not now see how it is that they have been ruined, and who it is that takes from them the fruit of their ingenuity, care, and labour? You tell us, that from the commencement of the late war you have been "*more or less in public life*." We all know that you have always been receiving more or less of our money; and have you the insolence to imagine that you can wheedle us over by your "*sanguine hope* of the effect of an *enlightened public opinion*;" that you can make us forget the money that you have received, the provision for your wife, the part that you have acted in the gagging-bills, the dungeon-bills, the famous Six Acts, the new treason-bills, the poaching transportation-bills, and all the rest of that code, which has been enacted since you have been in Parliament? Oh, no! we are not to be wheedled out of our memory by a little blarney: the day for wheedling is past; and you will find that, after all your *lucky career*, you have still a *reckoning to settle*.

You see the danger of men *carrying productive capital out of the country*. You are, then, not fool equal to the

pamphleteer, WILMOT HORTON, who cannot see that it is not the *paupers* that are going away. *Three millions sterling*, or about that sum, will this year be *carried to the United States by English emigrants*. What! do you imagine, that men, with money of *their own*; that men who possess "*realised capital*," will remain to taste of "*abridged comforts, and additional difficulties, during the present generation*"? Oh, no! none but idiots and cowards and base slaves will, under such circumstances, remain to have the honour of paying, all their lives, for the last "*glorious war*," for your and Burke's pensions, the pensions to Mrs. Herries and her daughters, and the like without end. When at Leicester, the other day, I met with a gentleman, who had "*realised capital*." He had gone to Philadelphia upon the passing of the *dungeon-bill* of 1817. He had drawn a part of his capital thither from time to time, and is now come here to put the rest into a moveable shape, *and to take it away*. And his words to me were, that *the taxes* that he must pay in England would exceed what was necessary for the maintenance of his family in America.

And who but idiots, cowards, and slaves, will remain to suffer for "*the present generation*," unless bound by some tie which they cannot break? Thousands are going off, this year, with capital at their command; and men of large fortune will soon be in the habit of going: clap on your *income tax*, and away goes a great part of the "*realised capital*:" a man with a family, and with money in hand, must be infatuated to remain here to be plucked and beggared during "*the present generation*." Read my *EMIGRANT'S GUIDE*: it will cost you only 2s. 6d. There you will see the *cause* of men *with money* going to America; there you may read the destiny of your system; there you may see, that no man of realised capital and of sense will remain to hand over that capital to the tools of the borough-mongers; and there you will see (and in the emigration now going on) a real proof of "*an enlightened public opi-*

*nion*." Every man of sense now sees, that, without a *parliamentary reform*, there can be no real relief, and that *convulsion must finally come*. And why should a man who has enough to enable him and his family to live well in America, and save money too, *why* should such a man remain to suffer for *a generation*, or to run the risk that *a violent convulsion* might and must expose him to? Why should he remain to pay part of the debt, the pensions, the dead-weight, the standing army, and the rest of it, not forgetting poor-rates and parsons? No: he will go, to be sure, and leave the tax-eaters and the paupers *to settle their accounts in their own way*; leave you to get your pensions how you can, and leave the parsons to *force* any body they can to pay them "*Easter- Offerings*."

The hand of death is upon the system, and your pamphlet proves that you perceive it; for the whole is an anxious attempt to withdraw yourself from it. You have at last found that there may be *an end*, even to the success of one who has always had power at his back. You have at last found that a state of things may arise to render physical force of no use to those who have been accustomed to employ it. "*Dungeon-bills* and standing armies are dreadfully powerful things; but their power is not of that sort which enables people to pay taxes." Of the truth of this, making part of my address on my flight to America, you are at last convinced; and, I dare say, that in looking back over your past life, you now begin to think that it would have been as well if you had ended, as well as begun, your life in the pretty and tranquil farmhouse at OXLEY, in which *I was yesterday*; when, sitting in the room in which, in all probability, your feet first felt the floor, I could not help saying to myself, "How much happier would he have been, if the glare of false ambition had never lured him from this spot; or, if, being so lured, he had resolved, from the first, never to be the underling of those whom, in his heart, he must have despised, and the supporter of a system which his very

"nature taught him to abhor; how much happier to have been the unquestionably rightful owner of this delightful seat of health, and source of competence, than the claimant of pensions founded on very doubtful merits, granted from very doubtful motives, and of duration dependent on circumstances uncertain as the winds!"

WM. COBBETT.

### EMIGRATION.

FROM all parts of the country people of property are going to the UNITED STATES. I have just heard of the departure of a most worthy man from SHEFFIELD. I saw him there last winter, and he then said, that he had, by incessant labour and care, got together a competence; and that he was resolved that no more of it should go to pay nurses and tutors to take care of the "young gentlemen" in the Royal Military and Naval and Artillery Academies! "No," said he, "nor to keep and educate the children of the soldiers; while my own children will, if I become poor, be called paupers, and put into a workhouse. No, no!" said he, "by —! not many more shillings of my money shall be sent over to Hanover, and elsewhere, to be given to dead-weight people, their widows and children. I will leave those to let their money go in this who like it: I do not like it, and will stand it no longer." And away he goes with about six thousand pounds. Now, I will tell the reader what he can do with this sum, without carrying on any business at all.

He can purchase, on Long Island, and within 20 miles of New York, a good, substantial, genteel country house, four good rooms on a floor, with kitchen, and cellars, all ample; with out-houses of all sorts; with good large garden; with orchard in full bearing; with fifteen acres of land for pasture for cows, horses, or for hay, or other purposes; this he can purchase for one thousand pounds. The taxes on it are not worth naming.

The 5,000*l.* will bring him an interest of six per cent., on mortgage (always to be had), seven per cent. being the legal interest. Thus he has, besides his house and land, 300*l.* a year clear income, liable to no tax, or deduction; and liable to no law-suit; because the mortgage is accompanied with judgment confessed.

Here he is, then, with no tax on his horses, carriage, dogs, house, land, windows, malt, hops, beer, soap, candles, or on any thing produced in the country. He has, at less than half the English price, tea, sugar, and coffee, and all spices. He has wine, brandy, and rum, at less than a fifth part of the English price, and spirits of the country, (like ours) at less than a tenth part. He has bread, meat, butter, and cheese, at half the English price. He has all sorts of English goods cheaper than in England, because there is generally a draw-back on them, and because the American merchant and shop-keeper are not taxed as ours are. All things from China, from France, from Italy, for a third of the English price. In short, his 300*l.* will enable him to live in better style than 1,000*l.*, or even 1,500*l.*, would enable him to live in England. The very taxes that he must pay here would amount to more than would be required to keep him there in better style than his whole income here would enable him to live in.

It is men like this who are now going. There will be thousands upon thousands who will thus flee from the dead-weight, the standing army, the place, pension, and sinecure list, the fine new palaces, the Debt, and the rates, especially those imposed in order to prosecute the people themselves for touching those wild animals, which God has given to us all. This is the sort of persons that go now: every one draws twenty after; and if Huskisson's income tax be once proposed by the Government, any man of sense will gather up his means as quickly as possible, and will be off with them.

Ever-blessed be the memory of those of our fathers, who had the courage to brave the seas, and to settle in a wil-



derness, in order to provide a place of refuge for us; and ever-honoured be the memory of those who shed their blood to prevent that place of refuge from being polluted by *taxation without representation*. The American debt is nearly paid off: the taxes on imports will, it is said, be kept up, and the surplus expended on roads, bridges, and canals; so that, in case of war, there may be means always ready. The navy goes on gradually increasing, without any internal tax. So that our THING must look pretty sharply about it! In short, it must bring down the taxes to the amount of 1791; or, the English nation sinks for ages.

On the subject of *emigration*, I have sent to me printed schemes of ASSOCIATIONS for this purpose. I beseech every one to avoid such associations. All projects of the sort are visionary: they must all lead to ruin: the prudent way is for every one to proceed on his own individual means; not to go to back woods by any means; to settle amongst the people of the country; and to do as they do; resolving to keep sober, and they, in whatever state of life, are sure to do well.

My EMIGRANT'S GUIDE, price 2s. 6d. is a sure guide; but, since I wrote it, which was last year, I have obtained some additional information of an authentic and a very interesting nature. I recollected prices of land, &c. pretty well; but some change might have taken place; and, as I was so frequently applied to for particulars, I wrote to Mr. JOHN TREDWELL, my neighbour in Long Island, eighteen questions, relative to farms that I myself had a personal knowledge of, and relative to country seats, taverns, &c. that I had a like knowledge of. I received his answer, a few weeks ago, when I was at CAMBRIDGE. In a new edition of the EMIGRANT'S GUIDE, which will be published in a few days, these questions, with the answers of Mr. TREDWELL, will be published, by the way of POSTSCRIPT, together with my explanations. No man can want any thing further than this little book with this addition.

I repeat that which I have so fre-

quently said; that it grieves me very much to know that it is my duty thus to promote emigration; but when I see so many worthy fathers and mothers, whose children *must* be miserable if they remain here under this system of taxation; and when I can see not the smallest chance of their escaping that ruin, it is my duty, and a sacred duty, to give to the country the information that I possess. The process that is now going on *must* bring to poverty all persons in the middle rank of life, who receive none of the taxes: the tax-eaters attack them from above, and the rate-eaters from beneath: their children *must* be poor and miserable: and their only means of safety is, *flight*, and flight in time, and before their last shilling is nearly gone.

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### THE SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

An event, which is likely (if I am to believe the bulletins) soon to take place, and which must, if it do take place, produce a *general election*, may afford great facility to the accomplishment of this object. Therefore, those gentlemen who may wish to see the object accomplished, will permit me to suggest, that as little time as possible should be lost in the raising of the money. Time flies, and, as things now are, it flies towards worse and worse. My readers well know that my opinion is, that this system must be taken to pieces, or that it will be knocked to pieces. No man, who looks back at the causes which led to the French Revolution, the long wars, the brilliant victories, the standing armies, the dead-weights, the debts, the increased palaces and luxury, the enormous taxes, the miserable middle and lower classes, of the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., and who remembers the dreadful result: no such man, if he have any thing at stake, can be otherwise than anxious, at this moment, to see a timely and peaceable change. It is my opinion, that my being in Parliament would tend to produce such change: if others think the same, they have the means pointed out

of placing me there. I have an anxious, a most anxious, desire to encounter the task; but as I have before stated, *not at all for my own private advantage*. By any injurious events I shall be as *little affected* as any man in the country. I have no *favour* to ask of any body; and I am sure, that no right-minded man will think that I have. My fame is secure; and let the fate of the country be what it may, the whole world will acquit me of all share in the causes of its ruin: the historian of these days will say, that, if the counsels of Cobbett had been listened to, the ruin would have been avoided. By preventing the ruin no *particular* gain could possibly accrue to me. I could not be satisfied with myself, till I had *made the offer*: having made it, I have discharged my duty; and, come what may, I have nothing to answer for. And the *amount of the money*; what is it! For all *Gloucestershire* for instance, it is 250*l*. Why, the little town of FAIRFORD, in that county; that little country town, town and parish containing only 1,444 souls, men, women, and babies, gave about FORTY POUNDS towards the expenses of the Preston election; a town, too, where I, before the election, knew not one single person! Why, at this rate, Gloucestershire alone would subscribe nearly double the whole of the sum that I have proposed. However, *arguments* are useless. I have no doubt, that the thing will be done; but it ought to be done *quickly*; for, *events are at hand*.

For the county of SUFFOLK, money will be received by James Gudgeon, Esq., solicitor, Stowmarket.

For the county of NORFOLK, by Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart.

For the county of LINCOLN, by William Bedford, Esq. of Lincoln, and by others to be mentioned in the next Register, when I shall give more full and particular intelligence.

For the county of HEREFORD, by William Palmer, Esq. of Bollitree Castle, near Ross.

For the county of LANCASTER, by Richard Potter, Esq., of Manchester.

For the EAST RIDING of YORKSHIRE, by Mr. Noble, bookseller, Hull.

For the WEST RIDING of YORKSHIRE, by John Forster, Esq., of Leeds.

For the county of LEICESTER, Mr. Warburton, of Leicester.

For the county of WARWICK, Mr. William Martin, of Birmingham.

For the county of STAFFORD, Mr. William Clark, of Wolverhampton.

For the county of SURREY, Mr. Chas. Trimmer, Churchill, Hazelmere.

I HAVE RECEIVED, *since my last*.

Towards the sum for Leicestershire, 5*l*. from "A Leicestershire Friend."

I should add here, that I do not want to receive the money, until the collection be *completed*. The first thing, and indeed the only thing of great weight is, the *qualification*; for, without that I do not stir an inch. As to the *seat*, that is not, and shall not be, a matter of *hazard*. Never will I again expend my own time and breath and the money of public-spirited men in the manner that I have done before. In short, whenever the qualification is secured, I repeat, that *the seat is ready*; but I will not have it, unless I have the qualification first. I do not want to have the money put into my hands until the whole sum be collected; or, until *enough* be collected to accomplish the purpose; for, less than the whole sum *might possibly do*; the seat might not cause so large an expense as that which has been contemplated. I shall hear, from time to time, how the collections proceed; shall take the opinions of the gentlemen who have taken the lead in the several counties, and shall act according to what "shall appear to be their general wishes on the subject." Once more, while I express my confidence that the sum will be raised, while I entertain not the smallest doubt of that, I again beg leave to suggest, the *sooner* it is done the better. Several letters, relating to the subject, shall be answered in a few days.